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XI.—Notes on the Greek *Θεωρός* and *Θεωρία*.

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I.

THE word *θεωρός* has the following meanings :¹

(a) Spectator :

Aesch. *Cho.* 245, *Pr.* 118, *Fr.* 289 ; Eur. *Ion.* 1076 ;
Plat. *Legg.* 637 C, 953 A, *Rep.* 467 C, 537 A, *Tim.*
57 D, *Epinom.* 986 D ; Aristot. 1336 b 36,
1358 b 2, 1391 b 17.

(b) A delegate sent by a state to attend a festival in another state :

Aesch. *Θεωροὶ ἢ Ἰσθμιασταί*, title of a tragedy to which belong *Frgg.* 79–82 ; Plat. *Legg.* 950 D, E ; Dem. 19, 128.

(c) One who goes to consult an oracle :

Theogn. 805 ; Epich. in Ath. 3, 107 a ; 7, 362 b ;
9, 408 d ; Soph. *O. C.* 413, *O. R.* 114 ; Eur. *Hipp.* 792 and 807 ; Thuc. 5, 16, 2.

(d) An envoy sent to announce in another state the coming celebration of a festival :

First occurs in an inscription, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 5, 303 (c. 276 B.C.). In literature first found in Polyb. 31, 3, 1.

(e) A regular magistrate employed by certain of the Greek States :

Thuc. 5, 47, 9 ; and *Archaeologische-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* 11, 187, no. 2.

¹ Under each meaning of *θεωρός* references are given to all examples which occur in the works of writers not later than Aristotle, or in inscriptions of the same period. No attempt is made to give a complete list of later examples.

From these meanings two main ideas are seen in the word, that of viewing and that of sacred duty. Of these two ideas the first appears alone in meaning (*a*), namely, that of spectator. The idea of sacred duty occurs without that of viewing in meanings (*c*) and (*d*); for the consulting of an oracle and the announcing of a festival are sacred duties.

Both these notions appear almost equally early and there has been some difference of opinion as to which was the original one. Ancient etymologists, from Plutarch on, generally supposed that the first part of θεωρός was θεός, thus making θεωρός to mean originally 'one who goes to perform some service to a god.'¹ This derivation is disproved not only by the Doric form θεᾶρός, as has been elsewhere pointed out,² but also by the prevailing use of other words from the same stem as θεωρός, namely, θεωρία, θεωρεῖν and its compounds, θεωροδόκος, θεώρημα, θεώρησις, θεωρητικός, θεωρικός. For before the close of the classical period the religious sense appears alone in only three of these words, θεωρία, θεωρεῖν, and θεωροδόκος, and in these three it occurs in all only four times;³ while on the other hand are the very numerous instances in which the idea of viewing occurs without any of the other notion.

Although the true formation of the word θεωρός has not yet been entirely determined, practically all the views of recent scholars regarding its structure are such as would make the notion of spectator the original one.⁴ It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss these views; but in order to make it sure that they are in the right direction, one must explain how the word, beginning with the meaning 'spectator,'

¹ See Plut. *Mor.* 1140 E; Harp. *s.v.* θεωρικά; Ἀνθων. *περὶ διαφόρων λέξεων* 68 Valck.; Zonar. *Lexic.* 1028 Tittman; Poll. 2, 55. Cf. also *E. M.* 448, 43; *E. Gud.* 260, 40 Sturz; Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* 2, 447.

² Ahrens, *De Graecae linguae dialectis* 2, 182.

³ See Dem. 21, 53; Hyperid. 3, 24-25; [Plat.] *Epinom.* 315 B; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 27, 107. In reality the first of these cases is probably later than the fourth century, and the third may be so.

⁴ See Curtius, *Griechische Etymologie*⁴, 253; Allen, *American Journal of Philology*, 1, 132; Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, *s.v.* θέα; Smyth, *Ion.*, 188, 629; Hoffmann, *Griechische Dialecte* 2, 296.

could eventually be used to mean 'commissioner sent on sacred service'; and of this development the following explanation is suggested.

The bridge between the two very different ideas was formed by the second meaning given above, namely, that of state delegate to a foreign festival. We may reasonably believe that such a delegate was originally called *θεωρός*, that is, spectator or sightseer, because at the beginning attendance on the exhibitions of the festival was thought of as his main duty. But even at the first this may not have been his only duty, and it is certain that later on there were others of more distinctly religious nature. We have many references to participation on the part of *θεωροί* in sacrifices offered at the festivals. Such participation was certainly the rule as early as the fifth century B.C.,¹ and as the custom seems a very natural one, we may suppose it to have become the rule much earlier. We hear also of *θεωροί* engaging in sacred processions with various articles of display, and dedicating to the god of the festival first fruits and other gifts.² As these sacred duties became more numerous and important, the significance of the word *θεωρός*, as applied to an envoy, became enlarged, and the idea of viewing lost its prominence. *θεωρός* then called to mind a delegate who represented his state not so much by mere attendance upon a festival as by the performance of sacred ceremonies there. In other words a *θεωρός* came to be thought of as a *sacred envoy* rather than a *sight-seeing envoy*; and so people finally fell into the habit of applying the name, because it was convenient, to any envoy who performed sacred duties, even though he was not sent to a festival and had no spectacle to see—such an envoy, for example, as one sent to consult an oracle, announce a festival, or decorate the statue of a god.³

It remains to account for the existence of *θεωροί* as regular

¹ See Thuc. 5, 50; Plut. *Nic.* 3; [Andoc.] *κατὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου* 29.

² See [Andoc.] *κατὰ Ἀλκ.* 29; Plat. *Rep.* I, 327 A; Hesych. *s.v.* *θεωρικῶς*; *C.I.G.* 2, 985; Plut. *Nic.* 3; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 6, 29 ff.; 10, 465 ff.; 14, 402 ff.; *C.I.G.* 2860.

³ See Hyperid. 3, 24–25.

magistrates, such as were appointed in Tegea, Mantinea, and elsewhere. What has just been said leads to the supposition — which there is nothing to prevent — that certain cities, instead of appointing a new set of *θεωροί* for each of the regularly recurring festivals, adopted the plan of appointing a regular board to perform this duty during a specified period. It is true we hear of other duties being performed by these *θεωροί*; but as they would not be kept busy by visiting festivals, these additions to their work are not unnatural, especially as the added duties we hear of are almost all of a religious nature.¹

II.

The various meanings of *θεωρός* may thus be accounted for. In the word *θεωρία*, which strictly means 'that which a *θεωρός* does,' there was a parallel development in meaning. When a Greek writer of the classical period says that somebody went on a *θεωρία* to the Olympia or some other festival, we cannot at once conclude that the man mentioned served as state delegate. For as *θεωρός* first meant 'spectator,' so *θεωρία* first meant 'the act of viewing';² and it is in several cases applied by classical writers to simple journeys of travel and sightseeing.³ So in a modern piece of prose composition it would be good classical usage to say that a man had gone on a *θεωρία*, if he had taken a pleasure trip to Europe or attended the Pan-American Exposition. In the *Crito* (52 B), when the Laws say to Socrates: 'you never went out of the city on a *θεωρία* except once to the Isthmus,' it is not implied that in the one instance mentioned Socrates was a public *θεωρός* to the Isthmian games. He was more likely a private sightseer.

In this connection two instances of the use of *θεωρία* per-

¹ See Pind. *N.* 3, 119, and Schol. ad loc.; *C.I.G.* Sept. 1, 39, 40; *Arch.-Epigr. Mittheil. aus Oester.* 11, 187 n. 2. At Tegea the *θεωροί* seem to have acquired certain legislative functions; see Xen. *Hell.* 5, 6, 5. At Mantinea they may have been given similar functions, but this is not clearly indicated; see Thuc. 5, 47.

² Soph. *O. R.* 1491; Plat. *Legg.* 4, 720 B et al.

³ See Hdt. 1, 29; Thuc. 6, 24, 3; Isocr. 4, 182; 17, 4; Xen. *Hiero*, 1, 12.

haps justify special notice. The first is found in Thucydides (6, 16, 2). Alcibiades is speaking before the Athenian ecclesia, and is enlarging on the good his extravagance has done the state. 'Through the brilliancy of my *θεωρία* to Olympia,' he says, 'the other Greeks were led to think our city greater than she really was.' With this he goes on to recall how on that occasion he had won first, second, and fourth places in the chariot race, and had displayed unparalleled magnificence in all the ceremonies of the festival. This *θεωρία* of Alcibiades was one of the most famous in antiquity,—in fact is mentioned in Greek literature oftener than any other,—and it has generally been assumed that Alcibiades was a state delegate or *θεωρός* of Athens. But nothing in the passage points to this, except the general magnificence indicated; and other references lead to the contrary conclusion.

The fullest account of this *θεωρία* is given in the speech *Against Alcibiades* (25 ff.), which has come down under the name of Andocides. This speech is now generally admitted to have been the work of an unknown rhetorician; but we may conclude with probability that it gives us in substance the story current in the fourth century B.C.¹

The speaker states (§ 25) that Alcibiades borrowed certain state emblems, made for display in the festival procession, from the *ἀρχεθεωροί*, the leaders of the Athenian embassy. From this it is clear that Alcibiades is not thought of as an *ἀρχεθεωρός*. Next the orator tells how Alcibiades refused at first to return the emblems, but used them in a procession of his own. Then follows the remark: 'All the foreigners who did not know that the emblems were ours, when they saw the state parade—*i.e.* the Athenian parade—which came after that of Alcibiades, thought that we—the Athenians—had borrowed the emblems from him.' Here Alcibiades appears as a person outside the Athenian delegation. And in the same speech (§ 30) the further statement is made that he had a tent twice as large as the state tent used by the *θεωροί* from

¹ See Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*², I, 332–339.

Athens. He did not live with them, as a member of the delegation would have been expected to do.

The *θεωρία* of Alcibiades is also referred to by Isocrates (16, 32 ff.) and Plutarch (*Alc.* 11–12), and is not spoken of by them as an official service.¹ So when Thucydides makes Alcibiades say ‘my *θεωρία* to Olympia,’ he is using the word *θεωρία* to denote a visit to the festival made in an unofficial capacity. It is interesting, however, to note that here, as in the case of official *θεωροί*, the word is used to imply more than simple sightseeing.

It was entirely in accord with the freakish character of Alcibiades that he should proceed to the great festival in a private capacity and make a display, as he did, more magnificent than that made by any state through its appointed representatives.

The second passage is in the ‘*Peace*’ of Aristophanes (523 ff.). Here a personified *Θεωρία* will be remembered as one of the two mute characters who accompany the goddess Peace when Trygaeus resurrects her and brings her back to Athens after she has been lost in the Peloponnesian War. Her other companion, *Ὀπώρα*, the harvest, is at once seen to be perfectly in place. But it is not so clear just what blessing of peace *Θεωρία* is intended to personify. That it was a blessing connected with festivals is proven by the joking references to her appearance and character (vv. 876, 879–80, 894). But she is also said to have belonged to the *βουλή* (714), and when brought to earth is given back to that body. She must therefore represent some privilege of the *βουλή* with which the war has interfered. One of the scholiasts (on v. 715) suggests that this privilege called *Θεωρία* was that of sending sacred embassies to outside festivals; but this could hardly be enough to justify the joy with which the *βουλή* is represented as receiving her (906). And we cannot

¹ The word *λειτουργία*, applied by Isocrates (16, 32) to the *θεωρία* of A., is there used in the general sense of ‘service done the state.’ The display of Alcibiades is spoken of in a complimentary way by his son as a *λειτουργία*, although it was not one of the regularly appointed public services which commonly went under that name. Cf. Lys. 21, 19.

suppose that *Θεωρία* means 'attending festivals at Athens,' for this privilege could not be said to belong especially to the *βουλή* just because that body had reserved seats.

The explanation desired is suggested by a passage in Demosthenes (19, 128), where the orator tells how Athens had failed on a certain occasion to send to the Pythian games the *θεωροί* from the *βουλή* (τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς θεωροὺς). The *θεωροί* sent to Delphi were therefore chosen from the *βουλή*; and this suggests that the real reason why *θεωρία* belonged to the *βουλή* was because *θεωροί* to all festivals were as a rule chosen from that body. *Θεωρία* is therefore intended to personify the privilege of service as state delegate to festivals, a privilege with which the war has interfered and which is restored with Peace.

III.

Thumser, in his "De Civium Atheniensium Muneribus" (p. 96) suggests that the *ἀρχεθεωροί* were appointed by the *ἀρχων βασιλεύς*, citing a passage in Demosthenes (πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος, § 9), where the following statement is made: 'And what if some other magistrate, such as the *ἀρχων*, *βασιλεύς*, or *ἀθλοθέται*, appoints one of us to a liturgy, what will show which one he is appointing?' It is true that the *ἀρχεθεωρία* was a liturgy;¹ and the passage cited shows that the *ἀρχων βασιλεύς* made appointments to some liturgy or other. But neither this consideration nor the fact that the *ἀρχων βασιλεύς* was intimately connected with religious matters, can lead to a probable conclusion regarding the appointment of *ἀρχεθεωροί*. There is something more definite in a passage of Dinarchus (1, 82), where a meeting at Olympia between Demosthenes and Nicanor the Macedonian is mentioned, and it is said that in order to meet Nicanor there Demosthenes had offered himself as *ἀρχεθεωρός* to the *βουλή*. Here it appears that the *ἀρχεθεωρός* to the Olympian games was appointed by the *βουλή*; and in the case of other festivals the appointment may very well have

¹ See Andoc. *Myst.* 132; Arist. 4, 1122 a, 24.

been made in the same way. This is at least much more probable than the supposition that the ἄρχων βασιλεύς made such appointments. So when Andocides says in his speech "On the Mysteries" (132) that he had been nominated for ἀρχεθεωρός to the Olympian and Isthmian games, the nomination in the latter case as well as the former was probably made to the βουλή.

It has been shown above that the θεωροί were regularly chosen from the βουλή. Considering this fact along with what has just been pointed out as to the choosing of ἀρχεθεωροί, we may accept the general statement of the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Pax* 713) that the βουλή sent out the θεωρίαί, i.e. appointed not only the leaders of the delegations but the other members as well.

IV.

Some towns of Greece observed the custom of appointing certain citizens to entertain the θεωροί sent to their festivals. These men were called θεωροδόκοι. They are first heard of in the fourth century B.C.,¹ but may very well have been employed earlier. The feasibility of appointing such entertainers would naturally depend on the size of the home state and the number of θεωροί expected. To have employed θεωροδόκοι for the so-called national festivals, the Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, and Nemea, would have been too great a drain on the population of the natives. In fact, literary references prove that in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the θεωροί sent to Olympia lived in tents,² and we are to suppose that this cruder custom was in vogue in all the great festivals mentioned.

This custom is referred to in an interesting way in a fragment of Heniochus, a comic poet of the fourth century. The fragment belonged to the prologue of a play whose title is unknown. In this prologue the speaker points to a group of

¹ See *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897, 107.

² See [Andoc.] *κατὰ Ἀλκ.* 30; Henioch. *Fr. Inc.* in Kock, *Fragg. Com. Gr.* 2, 433; Dion. H., *De Lysia Iudicium*, 520, 1, Reiske; Diod. 14, 109.

characters before the audience with the remark that they represent cities. He will tell why they are there. 'All this circular space round here,' he says, indicating the orchestra, 'is Olympia, and I want you to believe that in this σκηνή here you see an Olympic (ἐκεῖ) σκηνή θεωρική.'¹ These last two words may mean 'a tent for θεωροί,' and Kock supposes that a tent had been erected on the stage and that this is the σκηνή to which the prologue refers. It is not impossible that such a stage arrangement was called for by the later development of the plot; but we know nothing about the plot beyond the mere Olympic scene described, and to introduce a tent simply to make that scene more realistic would not only have been thought unnecessary but would not have served the purpose, since realism would require not one tent, but a group of tents. Moreover, the phrase σκηνή θεωρική might also mean 'theatrical scene'; and if the prologue simply pointed back to the scene and told his audience to imagine that that σκηνή was a σκηνή θεωρική, the double pun, which so easily suggests itself, would have been gained. If the plot of the play could be discovered, I believe it would be much more likely to prove the pun than the tent.

¹ Kock, *Frøgg. Com. Gr.* 2, 433 :

6. τὸ χωρίον μὲν γὰρ τόδ' ἐστὶ πᾶν κύκλω

7. 'Ολυμπία, τῇδε δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκεῖ

8. σκηνὴν ὁρᾶν θεωρικὴν νομίζετε.